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The Marathas in Tamilnadu – in the Context of Coastal and Maritime Trade

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Introduction – Why Shivaji attracted more than others to the Europeans: The European accounts of Shivaji (1630-1680) proves that he impacted on them than any other Indian of whatever nature. For the first time, perhaps, an Indian King responded to the Europeans and West Asians in their own fashion understandable to them. Even though, he ruled for just six years (1674-1680), he faced them directly in their own fashion with cavalry and navy on the land, coastal areas and on the sea waters. That is why they confused to recognize him as a "Rajput," "Moghul," "relative of Moghul" and so on in their documents whether English, French, Dutch, Portuguese or Italian[1]. He changed the attacking tactics of traditional "Dikvijaya" or medieval Victory March to Arab invasion or Mohammedan raids or European expedition. The Surat raid in 1664 made them shivering recognizing his counter-attack strategy targeting economy.

The significance of the Tanjore Marathas (1674-1855): After the fall of the Cholas in 13th century, why Tanjore should have been under another strong and military Kingdom like Marathas has to be studied critically[2]. From 13th to 17th centuries, Tanjore had undergone changes with the various political and commercial activities. Interestingly, the Hoysala Kings (1026-1343) tried their best to prevent Mohammedans entering South, particularly Tamilnadu strategically. Veera Ballala – III (1292-1342) could counter them effectively having capitals at Halepid, Tiruvannamalai and Samayapuram. How he was kidnapped from Samayapuram, taken to Madurai and impaled at 82 years age, became cruelest part of Madurai Sultanate history[3]. Moreover, during the 17th century, the European powers Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, French, and English had already established their trade and political establishments in India according to their convenient and strategic places. As per the records[4], the Maratha Kingdom was ruling over Tanjore from 1674 to 1799 and then, as a Princely state under the British Raj during the period 1799–1855.

In spite of "Doctrine of Lapse," the Tanjore Maratha vestiges continue: The Mohammedan and the British policies of kidnapping-conversion and "Doctrine of Lapse" made many Indian dynasties disappear without lineage. In 1855 Lord Dalhousie annexed the Maratha kingdom of Tanjore to the British Empire and since the last ruler Shivaji II died without a male heir and as per the provisions of Doctrine of Lapse, the claims of the female heir and the adopted son were rejected and within a day[5]. The politicization and ideologization of Maratha historiography[6] cannot find any solution to understand the gaps in chronology, that too, in the recent past. Under such circumstances, the Maratha Empire could survive with clear lineage ruling Tanjore with all vestiges leaving, available and continuing even in 21st centuries.

How the Mohammedans and the British followed "The Doctrine of Lapse": "The doctrine of lapse" was a policy of annexation initiated by by James Broun-Ramsay, 1st Marquess of Dalhousie of the East India Company. When the Indian princely state did not have a male heir, then, it should be automatically merged with the British Empire. It was in operation for the princely states, and applied until the year 1858, the year after Company rule was succeeded by the British Raj under the British Crown. Earlier, the Mohammedans too followed such practice by kidnapping and converting the heirs of Hindu states and empires. For example, the Hoysala King Veera Ballala – III was killed treacherously[7]. His son Virupaksha (Ballala-IV) was also kidnapped, taken to Delhi, converted and sent back or killed, as the available documents do not point out exactly how his end occurred[8]. Ironically, the vernacular literature vouchsafe story very similar to Duruva, i.e, Ballala praying to Shiva to get a Child of vigor with name and fame, but live only for short period and Shiva promising so.

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[1] Surendra Nath Sen, ***Foreign Biographies of Shivaji***, Vol.II, Kegn Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.Ltd, London

[2] Prince Pratap Sinh Serfoji Raje Bhosle, ***Contributions of Thanjavur Maratha Kings***, Norton Press, Chennai, 2017. Though, recently has brought out this book, he could not bring new details for the necessity of the presence of Marathas in Tanjore, specifically.

[3] Ibn Battuta himself recorded in his writing criticizing how his fellow Mohammedans had been so cruel in impaling and killing Veera Ballala by hanging his straw-stuffed body at the junction/ chowk of Madurai city to terrorize Hindus. Veera Ballala IV was captured in a battle fought against the Turko-Persian Madurai Sultanate. He was flayed and then slain, just as his father was. This happened in c. 1346. This was the end of the rule of the Hoysalas.

[4] K. M. Venkataramiah, ***History of Maratha rulers of Thanjavur (Macknzie Manuscript D3180)***, Tamil University, Thanjavur, 1987.

[5] Tara Chand, "***History of the Freedom Movement in India***" New Delhi: Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, GOI, 2005, Vol-I, pp. 32-42

[6] James W. Laine, ***Shivaji: Hindu king in Islamic India***, Oxford University Press, 2003.
He explored the Shivaji legend, analyzing the way various texts and stories have been woven into a commonly known narrative tracing its development from the 17th century to the present, noting the different ways the story has been told

[7] Ibn Battuta, ".. the Hindu prisoners were divided into four sections and taken to each of the four gates of the great catcar. There, on the stakes they had carried, the prisoners were impaled. Afterwards their wives were killed and tied by their hair to these pales. Little children were massacred on the bosoms of their mothers and their corpses left there. Then, the camp was raised, and they started cutting down the trees of another forest. In the same manner did they treat their later Hindu prisoners. This is shameful conduct such as I have not known any other sovereign guilty of. It is for this that God hastened the death of Ghiyath-eddin."

[8] Tiruvannamalai Stalapuranam and other local Tamil literature give different versions about his kidnapping, taking to Delhi, dending back to Ballala, but not accepted; then, praying to God and God himself being born as a child to him and so on.,

Tanjore has been near to Nagapattinam, the International port of the medieval period: During the period of Cholas and thereafter, Tanjore had been strategically popular, as it has been bear to the International Port Nagappattinam. As it was well connected with the Southeast Asian and Chinese merchants and mercenaries from the Cholas period onwards [9], such linkages continued thereafter also. Of course, Tharangampadi (Dutch), Karaikkal (French) on the north and Velanganni (Portuguese), Vedaranyam in the south were also flourishing. Particularly, the last one has been very near to Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Thus, Tanjore centre of all national and international commercial activities with the foreigners coming and going for negotiations of different deals. The Marathas had been polyglots and thus been good negotiators with foreigners. Moreover, they had contacts with seafarers, boat-ship builders and maritime experts[10].

Nagapatnam Port was with foreigners[11]: In 1612, Nagapatam was occupied by the Portuguese and in 1660 taken by the Dutch paying 5000 chuckrams a year to the Raja. Now and then the Raja had settlements to collect his dues at the point of the sword. In 1781 Nagapatnam passed into the hands of the English. Hamilton[12] says that tobacco and long cloth were produced at Negapatam. Bartolomeo[13] speaks of Nagore cloths and the abundance of rice in Tanjore. Nieuhoff[14] also writes of the large export of rice from Negapatam. Karaikkal was granted to the French in 1736, however, no rent was paid from 1749 to 1765. In the latter year, the rent was fixed at 7500 rupees per annum. According to a Dutch record of 1741, the port was famous for its silver trade. Tranquebar was occupied by the Danes in 1620 and purchased by the English from them in 1845 paying 2,000 pagodas a year to the Raja. According to Hamilton, it was noted for its white and dyed cloths. Thus, these foreigners improved the trade by buying the products and exporting through Nagapatnam. The Rajas themselves desired to have them as traders in their kingdom In a letter of 1622 from an English factory, the Nayak of Tanjore is said to desire trade with the English. Tin, lead, iron and red cloths could be sold and pepper, cloths, etc purchased by them In a letter of 1623 the Nayak is said to promise privileges to the English Cheaper and better cloths and pepper in reasonable quantities were available in Tanjore. Thus, the Tanjore-Nagapatnam connection is also known.

Serfoji II, ruled Tanjore for 180 years until displaced by the British in 1855.

How Marathas came to Tanjore?: The Deccan Sultanates (1490-1686) were mixed origins[15] and they were acting as mercenaries with "hot and cold" policies. They were engaging Muslims and Hindus in their armies to negotiate and settle the issues.

In 1630s Shahji, the father of Shivaji, was a commander of a garrison in Bangalore under the Sultan of Bijapur, Adil Shah, and helped control various parts of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu[16]. His son Ekoji-I, also known as Venkoji (b.1629), half-brother of Shivaji, was deputed by Adil Shah to settle internecine dispute among the Nayak rulers of Tanjore and Trichirappalli. As it was not settled, Ekohi was asked to take charge of Tanjore. Venkoji became the founder of Maratha rule in 1676. His dynasty, which included his three brothers, and the best-known King

Shivaji in Tamilnadu – Dhaksin Dikvijaya: There have been two narratives about the visit of Shivaji to Tamilnadu one incognito and another open with cavalry[17]. He visited Rameswaram in disguise on his horse and while returning, he inspected Tanjore, his brother's capital. As he did not have money, he reportedly pledged his head gear and got money for his expenses. Proceeding to north, he was caught in the floods of Kollidam and his horse was washed away. He fainted and found on the banks of the river. The villagers recovered him and given treatment. When he prepared to return, he gave his bichuva and armor as memento to them. They were kept in the Bhawani temple on the banks of Kollidam, till, they were located by the research group of Mahrastra in 1974 and taken back to celebrate 300th birth anniversary of Chatrapati Shivaji by the CM Y.B. Chavan. The second one had been about one year visiting many places and fighting with others to establish his power. Whether this sojourn through Karnataka-Andhra-Tamilnadu had been military campaign, raid, or pilgrimage, the results proved political and economical to control the business. He noticed that the temples were used as barracks, just like forts.

The places visited by Shivaji in Andhra and Tamilnadu: In 1676, Shivaji brokered a quick truce with the Mughal governor at Aurangabad, taking advantage of a political crisis in Bijapur's Adilshahi kingdom, and proceeded to south on a grand campaign, which granted the Marathas various places such as Koppal, Vellore, Gingee etc. Chhatrapati Shivaji actually allied with the Qutubshah of Golconda, allowing him easy passage through Hyderabad and into the Adil Shahi-ruled regions of Vellore and Gingee. From the Maratha manuscript[18], the following details are obtained and the places Shivaji visited during his sojourn are listed out as follows:

From Raigad to Hyderabad, Kurnool, Nivrutti Sangama, Srisailem, Cadappah, Tirupati, Kalahasti, Chitoor, Koppal, Vellore, Kanchipuram, Jinji, Arni, Maharajakkadai, Tiruvadi near Caddalore, Bhuvanagirii, Proto novo (Parangippettai), Tirumalavadi, Kunimedu near pondicherry, Valikandapuram, Tanjore, Nagapatnam, Rameswaram, Tundmgurty, Vriddhachalam, Coleroon (Kollidam), Madras and back to Raigad.

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[9] Helmann Kulke, K. Kesavapany and Vijay Sakhuja (Eds.), ***Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia***, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 2009.

[10] B. K. Apte, ***A History of Maratha Navy and Merchant Ships***, State Board for Literature and Culture, Bombay, 1973.

[11] K. R. Subramanian, ***The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore***, by the Author, Madras, 1927, pp.92-93.

[12] Hamilton's new account of the Indies I, p 348-353

[13] Bartolomeo's voyage to and from the Indies

[14] Nieuhoffs voyage to and from the Indies p 246-249

[15] The Ahmadnagar Sultanate was founded by a Deccani Muslim of Brahmin origins; the Berar Sultanate by a Kannadiga Hindu Brahmin slave brought up as a Deccani Muslim; the Bidar Sultanate was founded by a Georgian slave; the Bijapur Sultanate was founded by a Georgian slave purchased by Mahmud Gawan; and the Golconda Sultanate was of Iranian Turkmen origin.

[16] Ranade M.G and Gleanings, ***Rise of the Maratha Power and other essays***, in Maratha Chronicles, ed., K. R. Telang, University of Bombay, Bombay, 1961.

[17] Whether it was separate or one is not clear from the narratives recorded in the "History of Marathas" written in Marathi and later translated into Tamil and English. See K.M. Venkataramaiah ***opt.cit***, above.

[18] K. M. Venkataramiah, ***History of Maratha rulers of Thanjavur (Macknzie Manuscript D3180)***, Tamil University, Thanjavur, 1987.

- When Shivaji marched with his cavalry passing through many villages and rural cities, he never disturbed the normal activities going on at any place. This can be contacted with the campaign of the Mohammedan rulers.
- At these places, he met many people, agents, representatives and dubasis of the Moghuls, European companies and local rulers.
- He tried maximum with Ekoji to come to terms with his strategy of opposing Moghul and European adversaries.
- Tried to renovate and reconstruct forts at Jinji, Vellore etc., to gain the goodwill of the local people.
- By directly dealing and negotiating with the Dutch, French and Moghuls, he tried to gauge the pulse of them in all aspects.
- The strategy had been to invite them to his camp / tent for dialogue, interaction or negotiation.
- Maximum, he avoided armed conflict and tried to negotiate.
- His personal approach was revealed at Kollidam and Madras where he moved with common people.

Transition from export of finished goods to ores and raw materials: With the advent of the Europeans, the commercialization and exploitation of Indian society changed from the export of finished products and goods from India, slowly started changing to export of ores and raw materials. With the European Companies setting up their ports and factories near to the Coromandel Coast area, such activities shifted to coastal area than the inland manufacture and production. Thus, the inland water transport also started reducing with the increase of oversea maritime trade. Most of such business was transferred to the Mohammedan rulers and then to the Europeans. The intermediaries and agents of the both categories acted as negotiators-mercenaries on the land and pirates on the sea and ocean. Here, only the Indians suffered from the Cholas onwards, but the Marathas followed their own method to counter. That is why they turned towards south and occupied Tanjore.

Controlling the ports and the vessels on the sea and ocean: As long as the foreign ships come to Indian ports, for import and exports, they were under the Indian control. Naturally, then, the ships, master and inmates including the goods had to obey Indian rules prevalent. However, it is well-known that Indians had been known for their proverbial "honesty" in doing business, and therefore, the foreigners never had any issues with India, Indian rulers and Indian businessmen. However, once the ships left Indian ports and started sailing towards their destination, pirates started their rule affecting the cargo and ships. Here, mostly the Arabs-Mohammedans and European maritime traders, sailors and seafarers got affected by the pirates. Ironically, their groups only happened to be the pirates. Here, the Marathas effectively controlled the Western Coat pirate activities.

For example, in 1664, the attack of Shivaji on Surat had been counter-Mughul strategy and not religious, [19] as the sufferers had been "Hindu, Muslim and Jain." Besides, the coastal cities, ports, port-cities, the Marathas started building coastal forts for strengthening counter-piracy activities. Thus, this "counter-piracy" activities of the Marathas have to be taken as strategic in Indian context. Shivaji was condemned heavily by the European writers, because of this strategy.

Tukaram and Sadasiva Brimendrar: Interestingly, there had been many common features found in the narratives of the saints of Tukaram and Sadasiva Brimendrar. Both were helping the Maratha Kings in Maharastra and Tamilnadu and their life-histories have been highly hagiographed and mythologized within 100-150 years. Both saints were reportedly disappearing or subjected to attacks by the Mohammedans, as has been described in the apocryphal legends. Incidentally, the tomb of Sadasiva Brimendra is located not only Nerur near Karur in Tamilnadu, but also in Omkaleswar, Maharastra and even one in Karachi, Pakistan[20]. Unfortunately, for every 50-100 years, "quoted-quoted" stories and legends are created with loaded ideology leading to undesirable modern-mythology and therefore, such narratives cannot be discussed here. Then, it would become just like the attempt of James Laine analyzing the "myths of Shivaji." In any case, demythologization of such later-day and modern-day legends only point to unnatural death of those saints helping Shivaji. In the case of Sadasiva Brimendrar, a "milecha" was involved[21], whereas, in the case of Tukaram, "Brahman" is suggested [22]. Thus, it is logically and scientifically implied that the enemies of Shivaji must have killed them, rather the enemies of themselves.[23] Here, it has to be noted that the "Sufis" were used as slaves and mercenaries to get details of all sorts and also to eliminate persons secretly. To counter their activities, Indian Sadhus and Sanyasis could have been used tactically and in such operations, and thus, they might have been killed. This interpretation is given not to hurt the feelings of faithful, but, under demythologization process in historiography, the possibility is pointed out.

Shivaji's expedition of Tamilnadu - 1677: Shivaji's expedition to Tamilnadu could appear as cavalry raid, religious pilgrimage or to settle score with his brother at Tanjore, but, the real motive had been to control internal and external trade, as the Mohammedan and European agents, buccaneers and companies were making huge profits out of Indian goods. Indian technology, manufacturing skills, labour, raw materials were used, but, less salary paid. On the other hand, tax was collected for the agricultural lands without caring for the yield. Under the guise of setting up factories at or near to the coast with their forts and ports established, they had been exploiting the Indian labour and goods, disrupting manufacturing centres and connected families. Incidentally, Indian agents were used to control the affairs, issues and transactions in such processes. Thus, slowly, all commercial transactions were made to take place near coastal cities and ports for the convenience of the European Companies and Mohammedans.

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[19] Gokhale, Balkrishna Govind, ***Surat In The Seventeenth Century***. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1979, p. 24

[20] K. Nagarajan and Vedaprakash, ***Sri Sadasiva Brimendrar – in historical perspective***, Bharatiya Itihasa Sankalana Samiti, Chennai, 2012.

[21] Bharti Tirth, ***Sri Sadasiva Astakam***, Sringeri Mutt.

[22] Recent Marathi narratives without giving any authentic sources are available. They are repeatedly published in the Marathi dailies, weeklies etc., and translated into English also.

[23] The Saints like Chaitanya. Meera Bai, Ramalinga Adigal etc., have also been appeared to have disappeared, as probably, the devotees did not want to reveal what exactly happened to them. As these saints lived recently and tere were many other saints contemporary to them, definitely, more people would have known the facts.

Shivaji's navy and army were secular: Most of the soldiers of the army, cavalry etc., had been Indians, Hindus and they were working with Mohammedans and foreign mercenaries (mostly slaves from Africa, thugs from Afganistan, Persia etc.,). Perhaps, there was no "communal" problem, as they were just working as soldiers, carrying out their duties, as per the instructions of their masters, captains, commanders or chieftains. Thus, they fought in different groups for and against without any remorse, principle or ethics, in the case of ship-boat builders, technicians involved in the ship breaking and salvaging, sailors mariners, seafarers rtc., as they used to spend months and years on the seas and oceans, they were away from their families and thus, started feeling "home-sick." Moreover, as they were slowly made to follow the Arabian and European ways of maritime life, the family bondages were also broken and the relationships abandoned and forgotten. Thus, the stories of laskars and others had been notorious with such descriptions. Here, Shivaji tried to indigenize the navy personnel and depute them to proper work or rotation, so that they could spend time with families. Thus, the families continued to survive with lineages. The Mohammedan kidnapping of children and sons and the British "Doctrine of Lapse" can easily be contrasted and compared. In fact, such "Doctrine of Lapse" was applied to the Marathas by the British.

Counter-piracy and other strategies exploited by Shivaji: Shivaji tried to use "Surat-model-raid" at other places also to counter the aggressive commercial, buccaneering business and unethical trade practices of the Europeans. The Portuguese power on the Malabar Coast was threatened with the rise of Shivaji. He had already become a terror to the timid merchants trading at Surat. In other words, he exposed the European unethical, aggressive and suppressive methods of trade operating in India virtually sucking money out of India. According to Hean Baptiste, Shivaji's fleet, manned by the Malabaris, used to scour the sea and blunder the merchant man. The spoils were distributed among the sailors and only a small portion was reserved for the master[24]. In other words, the "piracy" carried on was not real piracy, but, teaching a lesson to the real pirates, who indulged n the unethical business practices.

The condition of "Hindu Marathas" in Tamilnadu 1855 to 2024: After the possession of Tanjore by the British through their policy of "Doctrine of Lapse," many Maratha peoole lost their traditional jobs and avocation and thus, they had to move to different parts of Tamilnadu. The people of migrated communities from Tanjore now call themselves 'Hindu Marathas' and they say that has earned them the caste certificate though they are unable to say with certainty what certificate it is[25]. r words within 300-400 years, they have been losing their identity as "Marathas"!

'Hindu Maratha' is not included in either scheduled caste or tribe list, and when they were persuaded they said they were in the scheduled caste list (G.O. of TN)[26]. do not have marital alliance with them. In othe According to the community members, the local administration in Madurai has added them in the Kattunayaka (Korava) community and that enables them to be in the scheduled caste list. In Ramnad they are included in the 'Most Backward Class' list. They are different from 'Kshatriya Marathas' found in many parts of Tamilnadu and they

The piracy, pillage and privateering policies of competing Moghuls and Europeans: The Moguls (Arabs and Mohammedans of all sorts) and the Europeans were controlling the Malabar and Coromandel coasts strategically to protect their maritime trade and related activities. Private or 'privilege' trade was allowed to the captains, officers and crew of East Indiamen on a sliding scale of cargo space and value based on rank. Mariners tended to concentrate mainly on items of high value but low volume. They never ashamed about their unethical business practices like - private trading, privateers, buccaneering, freebooting, rapine, piracy, etc. Here, Indian researchers can easily understand that they smuggled out only Indian goods to Europe, so that they could sell at huge profits and make money. Thus, when the goods were on the sea and oceanic waters, the merchant-turned pirates had no moral policy. Of course, the western experts try to differentiate between a privateer and pirate, the main difference is that pirates operated as outlaws, while privateers operated legally on behalf of a government. But, it is an open secret that privateers were legal pirates. Both made their living on the high seas by capturing other ships and selling their contents. But, for those sailors who had their ships attacked, the difference between a pirate and privateer disappears.

Shivaji's strategy of controlling the Western Coast and the Eastern Coast: The Britain never hid the fact that privateers and pirates were instrumental in the development of English and British colonies and territories through military support and economic enrichment. Trade between the British East India Company and India was also limited and not yet very profitable for the British because of competition with the Dutch and Portuguese in the region. That is why, the English wanted to monopolize Indian trade. The Mughal emperors of India also restricted British access to trade in the Colonial India, leading to a privateering and pirate system that was located in the areas of the Atlantic Ocean, Indian Ocean, and Pacific coasts of Central and South America. From Calcutta and Goa, the Europeans tried to cripple Moghuls by attacking the Moghul / Mohammedan ships going to Mecca pilgrimage. Thus, when the Moghul power slowly declined, the British tried to dominate. Under such circumstances, when Shivaji brought counter-piracy operations, with controlling the coastal trade, the Moghul and Europeans affected considerably.

[24] Jadunath Sircar, ***Shivaji and his times***, M.C.Sircar & sons Private Ltd., Calcutta,1961, pp.276-308.
[25] Usha, R. "***The Forgotten Tribes: Hindu 'Marathas' of Tamilnadu: the 'Jogis','Vasudevs' and others***." (2015).
[26] G.O. MS No. 1773, Government of Tamilnadu, http://www.tn.gov.in/gorders/adtw/adtw1773-e.html,

Modern-day historiography cannot be biased: The Indian historiography of the colonial EIC writers, European racist and Independent Indian ideological historians have been affecting more Indian history than the non-Indian aggressions, invasions and devastations. Thus, these histotriographical narratives of 20th and 21st centuries have been troubling the just-past 300-400 years history also[27]. Here, instead of depending upon Indian historical writings, much dependency is placed on the non-Indian narrative sources. Many non-Indian concepts, terminology and theories are applied to Indian historical processes and interpretation. Feudal, feudalism, sufi, Sufism and such other ideas are used to interpret Indian social, political, economic and religious happenings. Thus, region, state, language, people groups and related issues are treated separately, in spite of their well-connected strands. With the current ideological and imbibed ideas, the just-past events are also interpreted according to one's own viewpoint of view. However, people act, react and counteract according to their own likes and dislikes; dos and donts; etc. In the case of mythologization, demythologization and repetitive processes, more modern myths are also created and slowly circulated as history. Here, the "quoted-quoted" methodology plays havoc.

Shivaji's strategy: From the above details, the strategy of Shivaji can be assessed. After many accounts and reports, B.G. Paranjpe in his introduction, summarizes as follows [28] , "*Shivaji's plans were very cleverly laid and very secretly carried out and untill the plans were actually carried out they were not known even to his nearest attendants. Shivaji used to spread false rumours about bis movements and also used to take a few false moves in order to divert the attention of his enemies and drive them to follow a false scent and further reports had made him an "airy body". That being the case, there were several alarms about his approaches which often times proved to be unfounded. That is why, even though, Surat or Bombay used to criticise the information supplied by Rajapore or Carwar as incorrect, they frankly admitted it and said "this is what we bear not as truth" and communicated the same as part of their duty*."

Conclusion: In view of the above discussion on the specific points, the following points are submitted as conclusion, to appreciate the maritime strategy of Shivaji:

1. Shivaji tried to control the oversea / maritime trade of the Malabar / Western and Coromandel / Eastern coasts.
2. Shivaji (1627/30–1680) tried to dominate the European and Moghul forces on the west by building a string of impressive forts along the littoral to neutralize the power of the Portuguese (based in Goa) and others.
3. He experimented with the coastal people mobilizing with a collective consciousness to act against the non-Indian adversaries.
4. He tried to accommodate experienced western coastal people into a small naval force of sorts.
5. He tried to evolve the rights to custom duties, to shipwrecks, and to a preliminary definition of territorial waters and such other import-export policies[29] .
6. The Motupalli inscription dated to 1244 (Andhra) and the Chola Purva Pattayam [30] (Tamilnadu) mention how the foreign ships and goods are to be treated and taxed. Therefore, Shivaji must have studied such existing conditions on the Coromandel Coast.
7. Thus, his expedition to Tanjore and pilgrimage to Rameswaram had been to get first-hand information, assess and decide the Coromandel Coast conditions, to establish the Maratha foot-hold.
8. He visited the same Coastal cities, ports and forts, where the Moghul and European poers were also operating and they were nothing but the traditional manufacturing, trading and export centres.
9. His seeking help from the British providing engineers to renovate forts and guns for military purposes had been of military friendship, as his brother had already established transactions.
10. His sudden demise ended the dream of the Maratha expansion, but, after Satavananas, perhaps, Shivaji could connect both the Coasts successfully as an Indian ruler.

[27] James W. Laine, ***Shivaji: Hindu King in Islamic India***, Oxford University Press, USA, 2003.
[28] N. C. Kelkarand D. V. Apte (ed.,), ***English Records on Shivaji (1659-1689)***, Shiva Charitra Karyalaya, Poona, 131, p.8
[29] Lakshmi Subramanian, ***Piracy in India's Western Littoral Reality and Representation***, in **Piracy in World History**, Edited by Stefan Eklöf Amirell Bruce Buchan, and Hans Hägerdal, Amsterdam University Press, 2021, p.133.
[30] C. M. Ramachandra Chettiyar (ed.,), ***Colan Purvapattayam***, Oriental Manuscript Library, 1950.